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TEN WEEKS, TEN CENTS.
ONE YEAR FOR FIFTY CENTS.

Victor L. Berger Shows How the Steel Combine Escapes.

Considering the heavy guns that are arrayed against us, each of us bearing the trade-mark of the mighty Dollar-Social-Democratic is growing pretty fed up.

Classics of Social-Democracy.

SOCIALISM FROM UTOPIA TO SCIENCE.

By FREDERICK ENGELS.

[Frederick Engels, who jointly with Karl Marx put the philosophy of Socialism on a scientific basis, was born in Barmen, Germany, Nov. 28, 1820, and was the son of a manufacturer. He received a scientific education and afterward entered mercantile life in Berlin and in England in establishments partly owned by his father. He joined with Marx in writing the celebrated "Communist Manifesto," and was the author of other Socialist and economic works. His "Socialism from Utopia to Science" was written in 1875.]

(PREFACE CONTINUED.)

The new starting-point was a compromise between the rising middle-class and the ex-feudal landowners. The latter, though called, as now, the aristocracy, had been long since on the way which led them to become what Louis Philippe in France became at a much later period, "the first bourgeoisie of the kingdom." Fortunately for England, the old feudal barons had killed one another during the Wars of the Roses. Their successors, though mostly scions of the old families, had been so much out of the direct line of descent that they constituted quite a new body, with habits and tendencies far more bourgeois than feudal. They fully understood the value of money, and at once began to increase their rents by turning hundreds of small farmers out and replacing them by sheep. Henry VIII., while squandering the Church lands, created fresh bourgeois landlords by wholesale; the innumerable confiscations of estates, regranted to absolute or relative upstarts, and continued during the whole of the seventeenth century, had the same result. Consequently, ever since Henry VII., the English "aristocracy," far from counteracting the development of industrial production, had, on the contrary, sought to indirectly profit thereby; and there had always been a section of the great landowners willing, from commercial or political reasons, to co-operate with the leading men of financial and industrial bourgeoisie. The compromise of 1689 was, therefore, easily accomplished. The political spoils of "pelf and place" were left to the great landowning families, provided the economic interests of the financial, manufacturing, and commercial middle-class were sufficiently attended to. And these economic interests were at that time powerful enough to determine the general policy of the nation. There might be squabbles about matters of detail, but, on the whole, the aristocratic oligarchy knew too well that its own economic prosperity was irretrievably bound up with that of the industrial and commercial middle-class.

From that time, the bourgeoisie was a bumble, but still a recognized component of the ruling classes of England. With the rest of them, it had a common interest in keeping in subjection the great working mass of the nation. The merchant or manufacturer himself stood in the position of master, or, as it was until lately called, of "natural superior" to his clerks, his workpeople, his domestic servants. His interest was to get as much and as good work out of them as he could; for this end they had to be trained to proper submission. He was himself religious; his religion had supplied the standard under which he had fought the king and the lords, he was not long in discovering the opportunities this same religion offered him for working upon the minds of his natural inferiors, and making them submissive to the behests of the masters it had pleased God to place over them. In short, the English bourgeoisie now had to take part in keeping down the "lower orders," the great producing mass of the nation, and one of the means employed for that purpose was the influence of religion.

There was another fact that contributed to strengthen the religious leanings of the bourgeoisie. That was the rise of materialism in England. This new doctrine not only shocked the pious feelings of the middle-class; it announced itself as a philosophy only fit for scholars and cultivated men of the world, in contrast to religion which was good enough for the uneducated masses, including the bourgeoisie. With Hobbes it stepped out on the stage as a defender of royal prerogative and omnipotence; it called upon absolute monarchy to keep down that *puer robustus sed malitiosus*, to-wit, the people. Similarly, with the successors of Hobbes, with Bolingbroke, Shaftesbury, etc., the new deistic form of materialism remained an aristocratic, esoteric doctrine, and, therefore, hateful to the middle-class both for its religious heresy and for its anti-bourgeois political connections. Accordingly, in opposition to the materialism and deism of the aristocracy, those Protestant sects which had furnished the flag and the fighting contingent against the Stuarts, continued to furnish the main strength of the progressive middle-class, and form even today the backbone of "the Great Liberal Party."

In the meantime materialism passed from England to France, where it met and coalesced with another materialistic school of philosophers, a branch of Cartesianism. In France, too, it remained at first an exclusively aristocratic doctrine. But soon its revolutionary character asserted itself. The French materialists did not limit their criticism to matters of religious belief; they extended it to whatever scientific tradition or political institution they met with; and to prove the claim of their doctrine to universal application, they took the shortest cut, and boldly applied it to all subjects of knowledge in the giant work after which they were named—the *Encyclopédie*. Thus, in one or the other of its two forms—avowed materialism or deism—it became the creed of the whole cultured youth of France; so much so that, when the great Revolution broke out, the doctrine hatched by English Royalists gave a theoretical flag to French Republicans and Terrorists, and furnished the text for the Declaration of the Rights of Man. The great French Revolution was the third uprising of the bourgeoisie, but the first that had entirely cast off the religious cloak, and was fought out on undisguised political lines; it was the first, too, that was really fought out up to the destruction of one of the combatants, the aristocracy, and the complete triumph of the other, the bourgeoisie. In England the continuity of pre-revolutionary and post-revolutionary institutions, and the compromise between landlords and capitalists, found its expression in the continuity of judicial precedents and in the religious preservation of the feudal forms of the law. In France the Revolution constituted a complete breach with the traditions of the past; it cleared out the very last vestiges of feudalism, and created in the *Code Civil* a masterly adaptation of the old Roman law—that almost perfect expression of the juridical relations corresponding to the economic stage called by Marx the production of commodities—to modern capitalist conditions; so masterly that this French revolutionary code still serves as a model for reforms of the law of property in all other countries, not excepting England. Let us, however, not forget that if English law continues to express the economic relations of capitalist society in that barbarous feudal language which corresponds to the thing expressed, just as English spelling corresponds to English pronunciation—*roust cerives Londres et vous prononcez Constantinople*, said a Frenchman—that same English law is the only one which has preserved through ages, and transmitted to America and the Colonies the best part of that old Germanic personal freedom, local self-government, and independence from all interference but that of the law courts, which on the Continent has been lost during the period of absolute monarchy, and has nowhere been as yet fully recovered.

To return to our British bourgeois. The French Revolution gave him a splendid opportunity, with the help of the Continental monarchies, to destroy French maritime commerce, to annex French colonies, and to crush the last French pretensions to maritime rivalry. That was one reason why he fought it. Another was that the ways of this revolution went very much against his grain. Not only its "execrable" terrorism, but the very attempt to carry bourgeois rule to extremes. What should the British bourgeois do without his aristocracy, that taught him manners, such as they were, and invented fashions for him—that furnished officers for the army, which kept order at home, and the navy, which conquered colonial possessions and new markets abroad? There was indeed a progressive minority of the bourgeoisie, that minority whose interests were not so well attended to under the compromise; this section, composed chiefly of the less wealthy middle-class, did sympathize with the Revolution, but it was powerless in Parliament.

Thus, if materialism became the creed of the French Revolution, the God-fearing English bourgeois held all the faster to his religion. Had not the reign of terror in Paris proved what was the upshot, if the religious instincts of the masses were lost? The more materialism spread from France to neighboring countries, and was reinforced by similar doctrinal currents, notably by German philosophy, the more, in fact, materialism and freethought generally became, on the Continent, the necessary qualifications of a cultivated man, the more stubbornly the English middle-class stuck to its manifold religious creeds. These creeds might differ from one another, but they were, all of them, distinctly religious. Christian creeds.

While the Revolution ensured the political triumph of the bourgeoisie in France, in England Watt, Arkwright, Cartwright, and others, initiated an industrial revolution, which completely shifted the center of

gravity of economic power. The wealth of the bourgeoisie increased considerably faster than that of the landed aristocracy. Within the bourgeoisie itself, the financial aristocracy, the bankers, etc., were more and more pushed into the background by the manufacturers. The compromise of 1689, even after the gradual changes it had undergone in favour of the bourgeoisie, no longer corresponded to the relative position of the parties to it. The character of these parties, too, had changed; the bourgeoisie of 1830 was very different from that of the preceding century. The political power still left to the aristocracy, and used by them to resist the pretensions of the new industrial bourgeoisie, became incompatible with the new economic interests. A fresh struggle with the aristocracy was necessary; it could end only in a victory of the new economic power. First, the Reform Act was pushed through, in spite of "all" resistance, under the impulse of the French Revolution of 1830. It gave to the bourgeoisie a recognised and powerful place in Parliament. Then the repeal of the Corn Laws, which settled, once for all, the supremacy of the bourgeoisie, and especially of its most active portion, the manufacturers, over the landed aristocracy. This was the greatest victory of the bourgeoisie; it was, however, also the last it gained in its own exclusive interest. Whatever triumphs it obtained later on, it had to share with a new social power, first its ally, but soon its rival.

(CONTINUED NEXT WEEK.)

FIRST CLASS IN SOCIALISM.

And it was a Stupid Lot to Teach. at That.

[The class is in a state of actual objection, heavy reluctance, or entire indifference, but the subject is compulsory in the course of events.]

Teacher: "What is Socialism?"

The Politician: "Anarchy."

The Millionaire: "Robbery."

The Manufacturer: "Laziness."

The Average Man: "Why, it's what these low-down foreigners want because they were so down-trodden at home. We don't want it. It's paternalism. We're Americans."

The Average Woman: "Oh, it's perfectly awful! It's free-love and the children brought up by the state, and everybody wear the same clothes, and no nice houses of our own, and all eat at a common table. I think it's simply immoral and disgusting."

Teacher: "That'll do. I cannot attend to any more answers this morning. It is quite evident that none of you have given the lesson any attention. I should have thought that your preceding studies would have left you better prepared."

Teacher (To the Politician): "What have you learned from the study of government?"

Politician: "How to take care of myself, of course."

Teacher (To the Millionaire): "What have you learned from the study of economics?"

Millionaire: "How to take care of myself, of course."

Teacher (To the Manufacturer): "What have you learned from the study of industry?"

Manufacturer: "How to take care of myself, of course."

Teacher (To Average Man): "What have you learned from the study of business?"

Average Man: "How to take care of myself, of course."

Teacher (To Average Woman): "And you, my dear—your whose life is passed in the sacred precincts of the home—in the devoted service of the family—what have you learned from the study of—of—well, of your household duties?"

Average Woman: "How to get somebody to take care of me, of course!"

Teacher: "Well, it appears that you have not found in the course of events any preparation for our present study. The course is obligatory, however, and no other preparation is sought in addition by most of our pupils."

"So I shall have to make these lessons very thorough or you will not be able to pass the final examination. I will devote this morning to answering your answers. If I find any of you giving these astonishing answers again I shall be obliged to repeat this lesson at greater length."

"Which of you said that Socialism was anarchy?"

Politician: "I, sir. It's all one."

Teacher: "Do not repeat that error again! You may differ in opinion as to the use and value of systems of human society, but to be misinformed as to the facts is not worthy of this advanced class. Let me explain. Anarchy, as you might easily have learned from your dictionaries, means no government. Socialism, to put it into clear opposition, means all government. Can you remember that?"

Politician: "Yes, sir. But, sir—great Scott!—what a time we'd have! Politics everywhere! All business a part of government! Everybody a politician! Wouldn't we get rich!"

Teacher (dryly): "Excuse my checking your raptures. But may I ask from whom you get your money tips—from fellow officials or business men outside?"

Politician: "Why, from the man outside, of course—that's what we want to get in for!"

Teacher: "Exactly. And when all business men are 'in,' from whom would you derive your revenue?"

(Politician relapses into deep thought.)

Teacher: "Who said 'robbery'?"

Millionaire: "I did. 'Tis, too. They want to divide up everything and let nobody get rich."

Teacher: "What books of eminent Socialists have you read?"

Millionaire: "None, sir. I wouldn't read such trash. I'm a busy man, sir."

Teacher: "Where did you get your information as to this definition of Socialism?"

Millionaire: "Why—why—from common report, sir. Everybody knows that's what they mean."

Teacher: "I am astonished that a man of your acumen and business training should form a judgment on so important a matter from such unreliable sources. I must correct each of these errors briefly, and leave you to substantiate my explanation from the reading I shall give you. Socialism, my child, does not mean the taking away from any man of anything that he has honestly earned. (Millionaire squirms uneasily.) It is not at all a question of the division of property, but of the multiplication of property. It is a system of organized industry which will increase wealth enormously, and in whose benefits all will share—you among them!"

Millionaire (muttering to himself): "I don't want to share? I want it all!"

Teacher: "What's that you say?"

Millionaire: "I said, sir, that—that it wasn't fair to give a man what he hasn't earned."

Teacher: "Is that your honest opinion, sir?"

(Millionaire considers.)

Teacher: "Who said 'laziness'?"

Manufacturer: "I, sir. Sheer, stark laziness. They won't work. You can't make 'em work. And they want the earth."

Teacher: "When you lose a 'hand' by any accident how do you arrange to get another?"

Manufacturer: "Arrange! Well, I like that! Why, sir, there's always extra help standing around. Every man in the mill's got a dozen relatives he wants to place—the foreman has a waiting list a yard long. I don't have to 'arrange' much."

Teacher: "You do not advertise, then?"

Manufacturer: "Advertise! Well, I guess not! I did once, and I couldn't get into the yard the next morning from the crowd."

Teacher: "Then it would appear that there are still some men willing to work. Any Socialists among your hands?"

Manufacturer: "Not one. I took great pains to find out and asked 'em all. They won't get taken on in a hurry, either—not in my trade!"

Teacher: "But they were willing to work as long as you would let them. Now, where is the laziness you mentioned?"

Manufacturer: "Why, all those tramps and bums and loafers, sir, and walking delegates—the country's full o' them."

Teacher: "But what have they to do with Socialism?"

Manufacturer: "Why—why—it is these people, sir, who won't work and who want to be supported without work—by the state."

Teacher: "Your ideas are extremely vague. The state is the people, and the people must work or they would have nothing. Socialism means that every man and woman shall work—each according to his ability—and shall be provided for, each according to his deed."

Manufacturer (muttering): "A man ought to have all he can earn himself—for himself."

Teacher: "Take away the 'hands' from your business and how much can you earn—yourself?"

"But that is enough on that point. Now, you little fellow here who talked about the low-down foreigners and paternalism. There is a little more sense in your remarks than in the others. You have at least read or heard or thought a little, and I will answer you more fully. The social movement of today is felt in each civilized country, but varies in form according to the local conditions."

"What form this great social question will take in America will be modified, of course, by our special condition. You do not have to take your Socialism from any 'low-down foreigner.' By the way, what did you say your name was?"

Average Man: "Mallory, sir."

Teacher: "And your father's?"

Average Man: "O'Mallory, sir."

Teacher: "And your mother's?"

Average Man: "Kaufmann, sir."

Teacher: "Yes, thank you. We won't press the matter further."

As I was saying, we need not take our Socialism from any foreign country. America has her own form of this great fact, and it rests with the citizens of America to make it as free and democratic as they choose.

"Now, my dear little girl, who thinks Socialism immoral. Let me explain to you if I can."

"Where did you get your ideas of Socialism?"

Average Woman: "Why, from the papers and what the people say—and there was an article in the 'Babies' Home Journal' that was very convincing, and John says to let such things alone."

Teacher: "It is too late today for me to cover all the ground I should have to make this clear to you, but I will tell you some plain truths and you will have to read up about them afterward. Socialism is an economic theory and has no concern with marriage. But in the prosperity which Socialism brings marriage will be benefited, like everything else. Every one will be able to marry when they are fit. The children will not be 'separated from their mothers,' nothing can ever do that. But no mother need ever see her children suffering for lack of food or care. There will be no compulsion whatever as to clothes and houses, but everyone will have these conveniences more generally than they do now. A common table is not in the Socialist programme, whatever changes the evolution of household economies may bring about. When every citizen is well born and well reared, when there are no crime-producing causes among us as now, the morality of the world will improve enormously. I am aware that these remarks do not dislodge the ideas in your head, but in time I hope to reach you. Now for reading before your next lesson let me recommend one little book. It is a short, clear, simple work. It is neither for nor against Socialism, but describes it. The author is not a Socialist. It is Schaeffle's 'Quintessence of Socialism.' You can get it at the public library, or your book-seller will order it for you."

Charlotte Perkins Gilman.

THE MODERN GAS LIGHT CO. AND THE PEOPLE

The local branch of the gas octopus has made the discovery that its advertising writer is not equal to the task of saving the "dear people" from the terrible pitfalls of municipal Socialism.

Mr. Robert P. Porter, formerly denounced as a "statistical fakir," but now hailed as an "impartial witness," has been writing a series of made-to-order articles for the Chicago Chronicle to show that municipal ownership in Great Britain has proved a dismal failure.

The morning monopoly organ recently devoted nearly a column of space on its editorial page to the "statistics" furnished by this "impartial witness." For obvious reasons, it did not see fit to inform its readers that Mr. Porter was dispatched to London for the express purpose of preparing these "statistics," and that his employer is Mr. Patrick Walsh, the "Gas-Addicks of the West" and owner of the Chicago Chronicle.

Mr. Porter's "statistics" are absolutely at variance with the facts, as shown by the following selling prices of gas in thirty-five of the principal cities and towns in Great Britain, as reported to the Board of Trade by the gas companies:

Three London Metropolitan Cos.	6.642
Twelve London Suburban Cos.	6.84
Nine Provincial Corporations	6.94
Eight Provincial Companies	7.24
Edinburgh, per 1,000	8.0
Glasgow, per 1,000	8.0
Dublin, per 1,000	8.62
Average of thirty-five places	6.95

And now the local gas company's hired man, evidently urged to desperation by the prospect of losing a fat job, makes the following surprising and absolutely unsupported assertion:

It may be confidently asserted without fear of successful contradiction, that in this country there are absolutely no reliable data upon which to base a prediction as to the success of any experiment in municipal ownership.

In answer to this assertion, and at the risk of repetition, the following is quoted from the *Bulletin of the League of American Municipalities* for January:

Many of the more important cities are coming to realize what less pretentious municipalities have known for a long time—that excessive charges are exacted by some public service corporations for very questionable services.

May, McMillan, in his annual report to the Board of Aldermen Jan. 1, says: "I do not believe that government should engage in any service which can be done better or as well by private enterprise, or should invade business fields in competition with the legitimate trade of the citizen. The prices which the city is compelled to pay for gas and electric light, however, are so out of proportion with the charges in other cities that they must be extortionate."

New York furnished the most glaring example of excessive cost for public lighting.

Under the old contracts the city was charged at the rate of \$180 and \$140 per light, and the administration of Seth Low refused to pay those prices on the ground that they were exorbitant and oppressive. Bill aggregating between six and seven millions of dollars were held up, the city inviting the company to bring suit to recover the amount, firmly believing that reasonable rates would be substituted by the courts for the monopoly charges.

The redemption demanded by the Low administration was 40 per cent.

Under the influence of public indignation the board of estimates adopted with practical unanimity a resolution calling upon the corporation counsel to present to the state legislature an amendment to the New York charter enabling the municipality to establish and operate a lighting plant. Two years ago a similar amendment was offered and backed by leading bodies, but the agitation ended in smoke.

There is something wrong in a situation which compels a great city to pay \$140 for a service obtained elsewhere for \$50 to \$75 and which intelligent estimates prove can be produced by New York under city ownership for \$60.10 per light.

The agitation for lower rates for lighting has already resulted in the establishment of municipal lighting plants in various important municipalities. Detroit, after six years' experience in the operation of her municipal plant, shows that lights which formerly cost \$100 under private contract are being

produced at a cost of \$61.65 after allowing for interest, depreciation, etc.

Nashville, Tenn., about two years ago installed a municipal high class lighting plant and reports the net cost for 2,000 candle power lamps to be \$45 per year.

Under threats that a municipal plant would be built, Kansas City secured a reduction in rates from its private company from \$116 per lamp to \$65 for 2,000 candle power lamps burning all night. Columbus, O., produces a portion of her public lighting service by means of a municipal lighting plant at a net cost of \$39.50 and pays a private company for similar additional service \$74.50 per lamp. A publicly owned plant to light the entire city is now being completed at Columbus.

From a recent article in the St. Louis Republic we find the following data:

"Municipal ownership of electric gas, waterworks and other public utilities, was made a political issue in St. Louis in 1901."

"In less than three months after the election the municipal assembly passed an ordinance appropriating \$35,000 for a new municipal electric plant as a new city hall. At that time the city was paying 45 cents a kilowatt hour for current. At the present time it costs the city 35 cents a kilowatt hour."

From the waterworks system, the city hall lighting plant was the first effort at municipal ownership undertaken by any administration in St. Louis."

An accurate system of data above was compiled by Chief Engineer Wood showing the cost of labor, fuel, repairs or additions, the amount of current supplied to each building for light and power, purposes. For December, 1904, the cost for generating electric current per kilowatt hour was 1.66 cents.

The result shows that \$3,317.77 represents the cost of operating the lighting plant for the year, whereas the city was formerly forced to pay \$23,064.80 for the same purpose.

This means a net saving to the city, with the estimated depreciation of the plant, of \$23,248 for twelve months ending July 31, 1904. At that rate the city will have received back the \$35,000 cost of the plant, with interest and depreciation in eighteen months, after which this plant will earn for the city approximately \$25,000 a year, over and above expenses.

In the few cases above cited there is ample evidence to convict the gas man on one of two charges, i. e., ignorance of the facts or deliberate and cold-blooded distortion of the truth.

ALBERT J. WELCH.

"Confessions of Capitalism." Five cents each; thirty copies, one dollar.

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Pharmacist,

1929 VILLET STREET, Corner 26th.

Telephone West 201.

WOMEN'S DEPARTMENT.

Why Women Want to Vote.

The day is fast approaching when the popular prejudice against politics for women will be folded in its winding sheet and laid to rest along with Salem witchcraft and free silver.

Granting that women as a whole do not desire the ballot, they will be eventually driven to demand it whether they want it or not. And the reason is this: The average workingman is loud in his denunciation of women's competition with men in the different trades and professions. Let me ask you (with apologies to Mark Twain) why is it thus? In other words, why do women compete with men? Do you think the average woman enters the factories, the shops, the mills, or takes in washing because she likes to work eighteen hours a day? Say, Mr. Laboringman, is that your idea of the women who stand beside you every morning waiting for the mill gate to open? Do you think the "lady book-keeper" or typewriter that you see hustling down town with her noon lunch, disguised in a music roll, keeps books or pounds a typewriter just because she wants to keep you out of a job? You know she does not. She does it for the same reason that you grab your dinner pail and run when the whistle blows.

Because she has to.

And why does she have to? If she is a single woman, she has to because father and mother have too many helpless little ones at home to be able to do much for a girl that can work and take care of herself. And the young man who loves her, and whom she loves, dares not ask her to be his wife because his wages are so small that they will barely suffice for one. He sees no immediate prospect of earning enough for two. And so the girl that should be at home with her mother, or keeping house for herself and the man she loves, is compelled to compete with you for a chance to earn her own living. And she is not to blame, for she has never had a voice in making that which men call the laws that govern her.

If she marries the man she loves under the impression that what is barely enough for one can be made to do for two, she soon finds out her

mistake. But still for a while she clings to the two poor rooms they call home and tries to squeeze along. But by and by a baby or two come along and, with sickness and added expense, the debts and duns begin to trouble them, and the married woman, whose feeble strength should be employed at home, and who ought to be sheltered by her husband's love and care, is found by your side in the mill working for six cents an hour. And why? Is it because her husband is not willing, yes, anxious, to work eight hours a day and six days in a week that she may stay at home and take care of the children? No. It is because her husband, no matter how willing he may be, cannot earn enough to take care of them all, and so she must help him or see the babies starve at home. And she will work for small wages in order to help her one particular John, regardless of the fact that by so doing she throws some other woman's John out of a job altogether.

And she is not to blame, either, because the ballot which is the only remedy for this great and growing evil is denied to her, and you will not use yours in her defense.

Though she sees the evil, she is powerless to record a protest against it. Are you blind that you cannot see or a fool that you cannot understand why women want to vote?

Belle Davis.

(From the Vanguard.)

"The religious leaders may be loath to acknowledge the fact, but there is an estrangement between the workingmen and the churches," says Rev. Leighton Williams, pastor of Amity Baptist church, N. Y. "Facts prove this estrangement. The preponderance of women over men at the public services of the church; the creeping in of class divisions; the concentration of an American as against a foreign element in our population; the general subservience to wealth and fashion, which tends to make the churches uncomfortable for the 'plain people,' as President Lincoln called them, if it does not altogether exclude them; and, lastly, the prevalence of a type of preaching which is alien to current thought and the practical questions of every-day life among ordinary working people. In its periods of greatest power and fruitfulness the gospel of Christ has always been emphatically 'good news' to the poor, and when it ceases to be so it loses its attractiveness and power. Filling his church is not the main business of the minister, but bringing in the kingdom of God on earth, and that kingdom is another name for the right social order, which the Socialist seeks. Every Christian who understands and earnestly accepts the teaching of his Master is at heart a Socialist; and every Socialist bears within himself an unconscious Christianity," said the great Belgian publicist, the late M. de Laveleye.

Mrs. Florence Kelley in a recent magazine article graphically describes the life of thousands of young boys who work in the glass-bottle factories of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. It is said that many boys are sent to these factories from the orphan asylums on reaching the age of 12 and that they practically become the peons of the blowers for whom they work. Mrs. Kelley says that there are no restrictions on night work. The pitifully little children were found at work at 2 o'clock in the morning. On going out into the black, cold winter morning from the heat and glare of the glass ovens the boys went, as the men did, to the nearest saloons to drink the cheap drinks sold, just across the street from the works. All the boys used tobacco, usually chewing it. They were stunted, illiterate, profane and obscene—wrecked in body and mind before entering upon the long adolescence known to happier children. The sharp contrast between the heat of the glass ovens and the frost of the winter morning produces rheumatism and affections of the throat and lungs, so that many of the boys die before reaching the age of apprenticeship, from disease due directly to the circumstances attending their work, and more common elsewhere among adults than among children.

What society needs today is not charity, but justice. There is no greater impertinence and fraud perpetrated upon the disinherited poor than that which is known as professional charity. The following anecdote from an English exchange hits off the situation finely:

"A little girl from an East End slum was invited with others to a charity dinner, given at a great house in the West End of London. In the course of the meal the little maiden startled her hostess by propounding the query:

"Does your husband drink?"

"Why, no," replied the astonished lady of the house.

"After a moment's pause the miniature quiver proceeded with the equally bewildering questions:

"How much coal do you burn? What is your husband's salary? Has he any bad habits?"

"By this time the presiding genius of the table felt called upon to ask her humble guest what made her ask such strange questions.

"Well," was the innocent reply, "mother told me to behave like a lady, and when ladies call at our house they always ask mother those questions."



SCENE IN "HAPPY HOOLIGAN," ALHAMBRA THEATRE.

THE THEATER.

DAVIDSON THEATER.

There will be gala night at the Davidson Sunday, Feb. 12, where George Ade's spectacular comedy "The County Chairman," appears. Politics, a theme which is as vital and uppermost at the country cross roads as it is in the big cities, furnishes the motive for the story, and the author of the play is said to



LUCY RONEY IN "THE COUNTY CHAIRMAN."

have created a number of types of the sort which an audience is sure to recognize as old-time acquaintances.

Theodore Roberts, the well known Californian, will be seen in the name part of Jim Hackler, the county chairman, and George Thacker as the negro floater, Sasquatch. The story of "The Sho Gun," which opens at the Davidson Thursday eve., Feb. 16, concerns the adventures of an American, who, having "made his pile," seeks an entrance into society. He ascertains that an ancestry is absolutely essential to his progress in the select world and he goes to Korea to get one, even if he has to buy it. Once there, he experiences difficulties he had never dreamed of and he upsets traditions, rules and usages with an easy carelessness born of long experience in the art of making all things go before him. The role of the American, Spangler, is in the keeping of John E. Henshaw, one of the best known light comedians on the stage today. Matinee will be given Saturday.

BIJOU THEATER.

"The Factory Girl," Chas. E. Blaney's great labor play, will be the attraction at the Bijou Feb. 26th.

Commencing tomorrow afternoon at the Bijou, the famous Russell Bros. will begin a week's engage-



A SCENE FROM "THE FACTORY GIRL" AT THE BIJOU.

ment. Who has not heard of these splendid actors and sweet singers? James, for his inimitable comedy, and John for his clever acting and sweet singing. They will present while here their latest play entitled, "The Female Detectives." The situations of the play arouse the spectators to the highest pitch. A story with a moral, no one should fail to witness. Matinees will be given Wednesday and Saturday.

ALHAMBRA THEATER.

"Happy Hooligan," probably the most successful musical comedy of the country, is announced for the Alhambra next week. The scenes are from the pen sketches of that famous caricaturist, F. Oppen, and strung together by the clever playwright and author, Frank Dinnot. Great care and time was spent in selecting the chorus resplendent with gorgeous gowns, and when on the stage at one time, it presents a riot of beautifully blended color.

STAR THEATER.

The Reilly & Wood's company is to be the big attraction at the Star Theater commencing Sunday matinee, Feb. 12. Not a dull moment from the rise of the curtain until it falls upon one of the greatest aggregations of laugh makers before the public. The company is headed by the great and only Pat Reilly, whose name alone is a guarantee of a pleasant evening's entertainment.

GRAND THEATER.

Gardner, West & Sunshine with their fun-making "Zalors," in the great electrical fire dance, "Nettle Fields," the great Fingay and Albion & Albion are some of the leading attractions at the Grand. Third street near Grand ave., for the coming week. There are daily matinees at 2:30.

CRYSTAL THEATER.

The Buckeye Trio that you have been hearing about in other cities, will be next week's leading attraction at the Crystal Theater, Second north of the avenue. The rest of the bill is A1, as usual.

List No. 17.

F. Muench (Punch Card)	8	20
P. Matke (Punch Card)	35	
H. Galtier (Punch Card)	100	
J. Backs (Punch Card)	30	
H. Hauptmann (Punch Card)	25	
E. Berner	1.00	
F. Rehbein	1.00	
So. Side Women's Socialist Club	32.53	
Chas. Loehdorn	1.00	
E. Reihke	25	
J. Borges (S. C.)	1.70	
C. Markert	50	
H. Teelen (S. C.)	50	
F. Seidel	50	
N. Y. Z.	50	
E. Schrauz (Punch Card)	1.00	
H. I. Goehler (Punch Card)	2.00	
Ernst Andree (Punch Card)	50	
A. Pulemmer (Punch Card)	25	
W. Baumann (Punch Card)	15	
F. Klepp (Punch Card)	50	
13th Ward Br. on literature	12.00	
9th Ward Br. on literature	4.00	
Jao. Wuerdemann (S. C.)	50	
J. Buechler	1.00	
E. Seidel (S. C.)	1.00	
M. M.	1.00	
From Hunger Campaign Fund (Con- tributions)	61.50	
	\$129.10	

Settle for carnival tickets at once. Save the party the expense and annoyance of sending out a collector.

STATE OF WISCONSIN—MILWAUKEE COUNTY.

COUNTY COURT—IN PROBATE.

In the Matter of the Estate of Frank Last, Deceased.

Letters of administration on the Estate of Frank Last, late of the City of Milwaukee, in said County of Milwaukee, deceased, having been duly granted to Richard Blaney by this Court.

IT IS ORDERED, That the time from the date hereof until and including the 1st Tuesday of August, A. D. 1905, be and the same is hereby fixed as the time within which deceased, shall present their claims for examination and allowance.

IT IS FURTHER ORDERED, That all claims and demands of all persons against the said Frank Last deceased, be examined and adjusted before this Court at its Court Room in the Court House, in the City of Milwaukee, in said County, at the regular term thereof appointed to be held on the first Tuesday of October, 1905, and all creditors are hereby notified thereof.

IT IS FURTHER ORDERED, That notice of the time and place at which said claims and demands will be examined and adjusted as aforesaid, and of the time above limited for said creditors to present their claims and demands, be given by publishing a copy of this order and notice, for four consecutive weeks, once in each week, in the "Social-Democratic Herald," a newspaper published in the County of Milwaukee, the first publication to be within fifteen days from the date hereof.

Dated this 23rd day of January, 1905.

PAUL D. CARPENTER, County Judge.

RICHARD ELSENBER, Administrator.

Campaign Fund.

Previously reported	\$3710.75	C. L. Duval (Punch Card)	25
Seymour Steadman	15.00	J. A. Johnson	1.00
B. Bauman (Punch Card)	5.00	T. O.	1.00
M. Jackle (Punch Card)	1.00	A. Moorbeck, S. C.	30
Wm. C. Juey (Punch Card)	1.55	C. Gersten (Punch Card)	1.00
Wm. Jahn	1.00	W. and B. (S. C.)	5.00
A. H. Helming (Punch Card)	1.51	G. Fraebel (Punch Card)	50
B. M. Whitehead	30	F. D. Jasse (Punch Card)	50
H. E. Pier	30	F. Korsch (Punch Card)	1.00
M. Hegke	1.00		
G. Evenson	30		
W. McEashman	50		
P. H. Bailey	30		
F. Fuhbach	50		
H. Bieghmaier	1.00		
W. Lamy	1.00		
H. J.	85		
Wm. Schweener	1.50		
F. C. A. Fink	50		
R. Bueck (Glass Globe)	37		
Headquarters' Glass Globe	21		
A. B.	3.00		
V. L. Berger	50.00		
24th Ward Branch for Vorwaerts	25.00		
G. A. Schussler	30		
E. Eubank, S. C.	2.10		
H. Lucke (Punch Card)	1.00		
H. Callies (Punch Card)	1.00		
P. G. Kiser (Punch Card)	30		
G. Ankehn (Punch Card)	1.00		

Send The Vanguard to your friend for a year—50 cents.

Start your Socialist library with a year's subscription to The Vanguard—50 cents.

When you can't do anything else, distribute literature. But keep doing something!

Our advertisers will appreciate it if you tell them that you saw their ads. in the Social-Democratic Herald. Many of them have expressed great satisfaction because of such reminders on the part of their customers. Some of the best advertisers we have tell us that they get better returns from the Social-Democratic Herald than from any other paper in the city. Let the good work go on.

Genuine Milwaukee Gas-House



It's not merely "as good as" this or that fuel.

It's the best of all fuels.

Why??

It contains more heat units, ten for ten, than even the best hard coal, according to recorded tests made by the University of Michigan.

It costs 30 PER CENT LESS THAN HARD COAL.

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It's easy to kindle.

"Keep down the drafts." There's the secret.

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MILWAUKEE GAS LIGHT COMPANY.

152 WISCONSIN STREET.

(Send for our booklet on "HOW TO BURN GAS COKE").

Treat Your Horses Well

YOUR HORSES WILL FEEL BETTER AND LAST LONGER IF YOU FEED THEM WELL. TO FEED THEM WELL MEAN IN A LITTLE.

GOLD COIN STOCK FOOD

with their Corn or Oats at each feed. The horses relish it greatly and it increases digestive power, hence makes feed go further and lasts longer. — Every one knows dry feed is not the natural food for horses. GOLD COIN STOCK FOOD supplies the lacking elements in horse's every day food. — Our trade on it is large and growing. For Sale by Feed Dealers generally in Milwaukee.

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ANNOUNCEMENT.

I wish to inform the Public that I shall open a

FIRST CLASS MEAT MARKET

at 1217 THIRD, Near Chambers Street,

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FRESH, SALTED & SMOKED MEATS

I shall be pleased to call for and deliver your orders.

SATISFACTION GUARANTEED.

CHAS. D. BREMER.

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30 and 75c Suits at 25c

JOHN SCHUETZ,

957-959 Howell Avenue, MILWAUKEE, WIS.

RAILROAD CO'S AUCTION SALE

FROM THE CENTRAL RAILROAD CO'S WAREHOUSE AT CINCINNATI, OHIO.

AUCTION SALE is held once a year, the first week in February at the Central Railroad Co's Warehouse, located at Cincinnati, Ohio, at all lost freight.

LOST FREIGHT is the accumulation of all kinds of merchandise, carried by the various railroads of the United States which can not be delivered, such as misdirected or wrong addresses of shipping instructions, or freight that is not accepted by various merchants, due to late delivery or dissatisfaction, between shipper and buyers.

CINCINNATI is the city which was selected by all the railroads as a central warehouse point in which to store all such freight when all

merchandise not identified or called for is sold at auction once a year to the highest bidder.

OUR EASTERN BUYER who has been waiting for this sale, has made some extraordinary big purchases at this sale that will open the eyes of the Milwaukee buying public. Come prepared for some of the greatest values ever offered.

DESIRABLE MERCHANDISE such as the most staple daily wants, including Wash and Dress Goods, Lace Curtains, Draperies, Gents' and Ladies' Furnishings, Ribbons, Laces, Jewelry, Drugs, Carpets, Wall Paper and House Furnishings are among the greatest items bought.

PRICES PAID are the lowest it's ever been our fortune to pay for such desirable merchandise, in fact the prices paid will range from 25c to 50c on the dollar.

NEW SPRING SHIPMENTS are numerous, and most stylish and desirable new spring merchandise are included. In fact the cases our buyer selected and bought were only those that were amongst the most recent lost freights.

RETURN ANY GOODS NOT SATISFACTORY and same will be gladly exchanged for others.

Sale starts Monday at 8:30 A. M.

All goods on sale until absolutely sold out. At which time other bargains will be put on sale, equally as good. Come Monday if possible, if not, any day during the week. More bargains than you can buy.

From the railroad auction sale comes 100 pieces of white India Linen Lawn, a fine sheer material, suitable for confirmation Dress, regular 10c value, sale, per yard..... **3⁷/₈c**

From the railroad auction sale comes 2 cases of Dress Gingham, in all colors, stripes and checks, values to 10c a yard, special..... **4¹/₂c**

From the railroad auction sale comes 1 case of black and gray Calico in wide range of patterns, 32 inches wide, regular 10c values..... **5⁷/₈c**

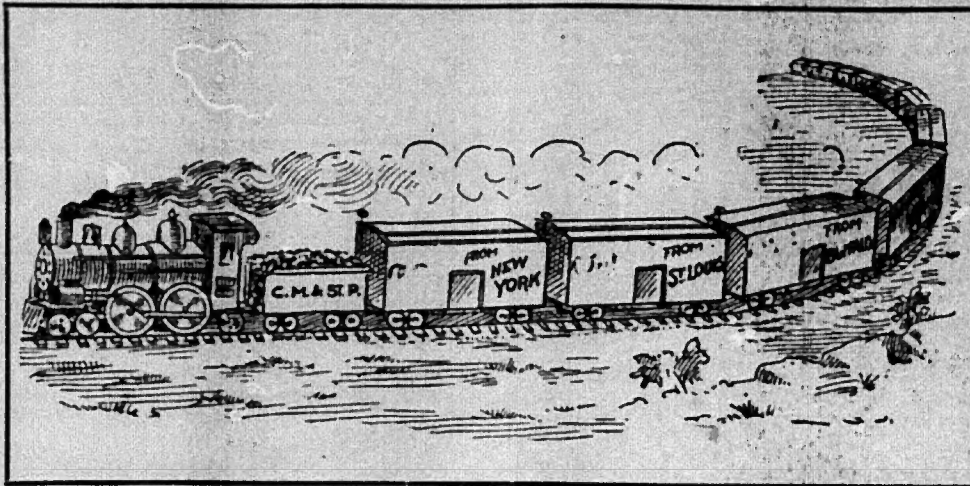
From the railroad auction sale comes 2 bales of full bleached Muslin, a full yard wide, sold regular at 6c, special a yard..... **3⁷/₈c**

From the railroad auction sale, a case of new 1905 Satin Girdles, in white, blue and pink, regular \$1.00 value, all go at..... **39c**

From the railroad auction sale comes 3 bales of fast color Merinoes Shirting, best 6c quality, during this sale you pay for the yard..... **3⁷/₈c**

From the railroad auction sale, a case of men's finest, light top, with cashmere and silk mixed foot, Hose, also men's finest 25c cashmere Hose, all go at a pair..... **12c**

From the railroad auction sale comes 1 case of ladies' mercerized Petticoats, made with wide dust ruffle and extra wide flounce, values to \$1.25, go at..... **54c**



SEE OUR WINDOWS FOR BIG BARGAINS

From the railroad auction sale comes 35,000 rolls of Wall Paper, including all kinds, sorts and styles of wall, ceiling and border paper in the widest range of colorings and designs. A timely opportunity to save just half of your regular purchase money. The prices range up from the roll..... **1¹/₂c**

From the railroad auction sale comes 54 cases of Drugs and Patent Medicines of all standard makes. Now is the time to buy them, each and every item is guaranteed to be pure and fresh. Note some of the bargains:

- 25c Fletcher's Castoria..... **12c**
- 25c Gold Medal Cough Syrup..... **13c**
- 25c Fluid Extract of Cascara..... **9c**
- 25c Box Antiseptic Tooth Soap for..... **9c**
- \$1.00 Size Lydia Pinkham's Vegetable Compound..... **67c**
- \$1.00 Size Munyon's Paw-Paw for..... **67c**
- 50c Size Liquezone for..... **37c**
- 25c Box of Kidney and Liver Pills for..... **7c**
- 50c Size Liebig's Mince Extract of Beef for..... **23c**
- 25c Porous Epsom Salts for..... **8c**
- \$1.00 Pure Norwegian Cod Liver Oil for..... **59c**

YOUR MONEY'S WORTH OR YOUR MONEY BACK

Bitker's
DEPARTMENT STORE

COR. FOND DU LAC AVE.

18th AND LLOYD STS.

Store opens at 8:30 A. M. and closes at 6 P. M., except Monday, Friday, and Saturday open until 9 P. M. Kindly take all small parcels with you. Owing to the many deliveries to be made our drivers will be compelled to carry some packages over until the next day.

From the railroad auction sale come 6500 yards of new spring Colored Dress Goods, double fold, in colored mixtures, 12c would be the regular price, we say a yard at..... **6¹/₂c**

From the railroad auction sale come 650 silk floss Pillows, size 16x16, regular value 25c, sale price..... **12c**

From the railroad auction sale come 1,153 yards of all silk satin Ribbons, in all colors and various widths, regular 5c to 7c values, the yard at..... **2c**

From the railroad auction sale come 375 Tapestry Couch Covers, in original colorings and designs with heavy fringe, regular \$1.25 values, for..... **59c**

From the railroad auction sale come 985 pounds of live Geese Feathers, put up in 1, 2, 2¹/₂, 3, 4, 5 and 10 pound bags, while they last the pound..... **29c**

From the railroad auction sale come 5,223 yards of wide Pillow Case Laces, worth no less than 3c and up to 5c the yard, all go at..... **1c**

From the railroad auction sale come 125 dozen men's gray and brown mixed Socks, worth 7c and 8c the pair, all go at the low price of a pair..... **2c**

From the railroad auction sale come nearly 200 women's Walking Skirts, in various makes, styles and colors, values up to \$2.50, all go at..... **98c**



From the railroad auction comes 1 case of best slater 64x64 colored Cambrics, in all colors, suitable for masquerade costumes, regular 5c and 6c quality, special a yard..... **2⁷/₈c**

From the railroad auction sale comes 3 cases of ladies' sample Underwear in all sorts, kinds, colors and sizes, values up to 50c, all go at..... **16c**

From the railroad auction sale come 100 pieces of 18-inch half linen gray Crash Toweling, regular 8c and 10c sort, we say the yard..... **5c**

From the railroad auction come 5 cases of extra heavy cotton Blankets, with colored borders, value 75c, special the pair..... **39c**

From the railroad auction sale comes a case of Hose Supporters for women, with belt and large front pad, 55c 4 strands, in black and all colors, actual 25c values, at..... **10c**

SOME DROLL STORIES OF GRAFT IN MILWAUKEE!

II. How a Reporter Made Graft out of Grafters, and the Story of the Diamond Stud.

It must not be imagined that our Droll Stories of Graft in Milwaukee are to concern themselves with the wrong-doings of newspaper reporters exclusively, and yet this week we propose to tell a story that embodies two reportorial adventures in the graft field that are worth the telling. And we want to impress it upon the reader also that we do not seek to show that all newspaper men are crooked. Quite the contrary. Our intimate knowledge of them permits us to say that they are as a class remarkably impervious to temptation. They are often placed in trying situations. Only a few of those who have been thrown in with the official crooks have given in to crookedness, and in the case of some of these it has been a gradual descent. A Salvation Army captain once told me that it was the policy of the army to frequently change the girls who were sent to talk to the inmates of houses of ill-fame, as the immoral actions and talk gradually were away their religious sense of repugnance to evil. Reporters are human beings also. "When I first saw crooked things done by aldermen," said a reporter to us, "I wanted to raise a row about it. Afterward it got more familiar to me, and I also discovered that if I didn't keep my mouth shut I would impair my usefulness as a gatherer of news, for I would be boycotted. That was the first step. Then I began to see the main chance opening before me, and first I knew I was in with the gang." But this is disgusting.

In 1895 Milwaukee county was building a new almshouse. Joe Meyers was the contractor, and anything that Joe Meyers touched meant all sorts of interesting things for the gang. Meyers was a familiar figure round the court house in those days, though he has latterly rather fallen from his "high" station and at present rests under a straw order issued by the U. S. postal department, because of a scheme he was circulating through the mails to educate people as to how slot machines might be robbed. Well, the county almshouse was an awful piece of scamp work. The county was fleeced by almost every sub-contractor that had a finger in the pie. The writer accompanied an investigating committee that

"inspected" it after it was inclosed and nearly finished. He well remembers one of the walls that was so flimsy that it would start to waving back and forth at the pressure of a person's hand. Beside the money made by direct steals on inferior work, the building also figured in the inevitable "extras" that have been made famous by county board misrepresentation of the people. And the "investigation" really got more dangerous than had been expected. Those on the inside of the probing met one evening and decided that the "investigation" must be tapered off and that it must not extend to any of the other buildings, at which repairs were constantly being made. One of those who were present, or not far away from the inside news, was a reporter on one of the German papers, a young man who already excelled in inventing grafting schemes. He knew that the investigation was bringing trepidation to certain men who were in on a sewage disposal contract for the county hospital and were expecting to see the investigation reach out and probe their work also. Now grafting in ordinary ways is a good deal of a science, but to put the grafters themselves under tribute is absolutely high art. Off rushed this certain reporter to the men involved in the sewage crookedness. He told them he had finally gotten a lead on the investigating committee by which he could buy it off from extending the investigation to the sewage plant, but it would cost quite a little money—a thousand dollars at the least. They were thrown into a panic by his assurance that otherwise there was nothing that could save them. Whispered conferences, telephone calls, and a trip across town in a hack to get an absent party to help out, ensued. The matter was compromised with the reporter for \$800, the money paid over to him—and sure enough the investigation went no further. But it was an awfully sore crowd of slugs who afterward learned that the reporter had had nothing to do with the stopping of the affair!

While speaking of the almshouse investigation we must not forget another droll circumstance that happened in connection therewith, and which is still sure to raise a laugh

For Russian Liberty

Great interest and enthusiasm was manifest Wednesday evening at the meeting for Madame Breshkovsky at the Liederkreis hall, Prairie street. The ex-Siberian exile was greeted with tumultuous applause on her appearance. She spoke in Russian which was afterward translated into English by Comrade Peter Sissman of Chicago. A goodly sum was collected and will be forwarded to help the struggle in Russia.

(From The Vanguard.)

"The great truth of the importance of man," said Henry Ward Beecher, "which God is driving through our time as with a chariot of fire—when this truth comes up to the church, does the church welcome it? No. The church is busy dusting the flitches of old truth that have hung for years in the smoke-house of theology." That was an indictment of the church made in the midst of the struggle against negro slavery fifty years ago. Shall such an indictment be made possible in this greater contest against wage slavery? Where are the preachers in this tremendous fight for mammon on the one side and for humanity on the other? Stand up, Mr. Preacher, and be counted!

The next time you hear anyone peddling that old slander about Socialism "destroying the home," just read to them the following paragraph from the Social-Democratic Herald, which contains the facts in the case: "The Socialists boldly declare that it is capitalism that is against the home. That it cares nothing for its sanctity; that it drags little children away from their homes and puts them amidst demoralizing factory conditions; that it forces women into wage earning and in many factory localities obliges the men, who have been forced out of their jobs, to do the housework, take care of the babies and bring the noon hour lunch to the factory gates for the wife and children who have the jobs; that it forces up the price of living and lowers wages, so that men cannot afford to marry and undertake to rear families; that it forces many working women into prostitution by paying wages they cannot live on; that it produces slums in every large city and causes people to live several families in one room, thus making modesty an impossibility; that it so divides the classes of workers that some industrial towns are frequently referred to as 'the towns' and 'the towns'—some of the cotton mill towns of New England, for instance, being made up principally of female employees. That it breaks up homes through mortgage

foreclosures, and through the arbitrary removal of large factories from one place to another, thus rendering almost valueless the little properties that some of the workers have been cheating their bodies and stomachs to acquire; that—but why go on? The indictment of capitalism as the foe of morality and the family life is so plain that it is hard to think of a defense being set up."

Some persons, either through ignorance or malice, still confound Socialism with infidelity or imagine that in some way it is hostile to religion. Not so, however, the editor of the Blue Glass Blade, the most rabid anti-religious paper of which we know. The following reply, which he makes to some one who asks him to even his columns to a discussion of Socialism, indicates that in the eyes of the avowed infidel Socialists are at least not antagonistic to religion. He says: "If you know anything about Socialism you know that there is not a Socialistic paper in the whole world that advocates infidelity, and you cannot get the editor of any Socialistic paper in the world to say in his paper that he is an infidel. There came in the same mail that brought your letter *The Worker*, published in New York City, the largest Socialistic paper in the world. The very first thing in it is headed, 'A Stirring Speech of Rev. Alexander F. Irvine,' in which the Reverend Smart Aleck is boosted to the skies in nearly three columns. I looked all over the paper and did not find a single word or hint of insinuation in favor of infidelity, but under the head 'Landlordism in Heaven' there was a piece alluding respectfully to religion and to Bishop Maes."

If you are a consistent union man you will demand the union label and shop card when buying goods and having work done, and you will induce the other members of your family to do likewise; and, incidentally, we might remark, if you persist in being consistent, you will vote a union ticket the next chance you get. Are you a consistent union man? It's up to you.

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